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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,026 Feb. 24, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

Will abolition apply there? COLONIES AND THE DEATH PENALTY

By Fenner Brockway, MP

THE vote of the House of Commons for the abolition of the death penalty does not automatically apply to the colonial territories.

I have therefore tabled a question to the Colonial Secretary on February 27 when he will be answering questions first, asking if he will apply to the colonies, protectorates and trusteeship territories the decision which the House has reached regarding this country.

It is possible that the Home Secretary may be making a statement on the policy of the Government before that date. If so, I shall endeavour to secure an assurance that the Government will extend the decision to the colonies.

Three types of colonies are involved. The first of these—Cyprus, Kenya and Malaya—are places where active hostilities are in progress. In such colonies the death sentence is applied for offences less serious than killing.

It seems to me that the House of Commons' decision demands a reconsideration of these penalties, and I would like to see the death penalty entirely removed. Taking life in cold blood is no answer to the loss

ON BACK PAGE

JOSS ON THE PEACE-PATH



"Things are far too smooth—something's BOUND to happen..."

SUPPORT GROWS FOR PRISON MARCH

WIDESPREAD sympathy and support is being shown for the forthcoming march to Wormwood Scrubs prison on March 3 and the week of day-and-night picketing of the prison gates which is to follow.

The Pacifist Youth Action Group is organising the demonstration as a means of letting the public know why British conscientious objectors are in prison "and why five others of our group are awaiting sentence."

Already many COs imprisoned in World Wars I and II have responded to an appeal for "old lags" to join in the demonstration and have promised to join in the march, carrying banners with the names of their prisons and the period of imprisonment.

Rallying to support the Youth Action Group are:

Blays, the famous cartoonist, who has drawn a special cartoon for the front of the leaflet which will be given away outside the prison during the march;

Battle of Britain pilot John Loverseed who has offered the loan of a lorry for the procession;

A housewife living near the prison who has offered her home as a base from which the picketing can be organised and those on the night rota sleep while waiting for transport.

ON BACK PAGE

Hanging has gone, now for conscription, armaments and war itself.'

AWAY WITH THE GALLOWS!

By Frank Dawtry

A FEW hours before the issue of a White Paper on "Defence," concerned with both the preparation of and protection against nuclear bombs, the House of Commons voted for the abolition of the death penalty for murder.

Arthur Koestler calls this an "honourable paradox" and the two events may not be unrelated, for the vote means the final removal from our internal laws of the ultimate sanction of death;

it may help to strengthen the growing belief that international affairs can also be organised without the ultimate sanction of war.

There is in any case an immediate significance in the House of Commons vote.

For all who work in minorities it has a plain lesson of hope and encouragement.

For the second time in recent years the British Parliament has declared its desire that the death penalty for murder shall be removed from the law. It did so in 1948 but the House of Lords reversed this decision with the apparent justification that public opinion was not ready for the change.

Already the rumblings have begun. The House of Lords is again being called upon by some sections of the press to check the Government's intention to honour the feelings expressed in the debate last week.

One MP has rushed to The Times with a warning that Parliament has taken no account of public opinion and, doubtless representing a common view, he raises the greater complaint that Parliament has been led into its action by a minority of interested people.

This is a true and glorious statement in which readers of Peace News may well rejoice.

They will first wish to ask, however, whether every Government action is taken only when demanded or supported by a majority of the public.

Is there, for instance, a majority public opinion in favour of conscription?

Is a majority of the country in favour of preparing hydrogen bombs?

Is there a public opinion in favour of rearming Germany?

If the Governments had always had to wait for the backing of a majority opinion, it is true that we might have been spared a lot of wars; but we should also have missed most of the social advance of the last century.

It was a famous prime minister who said "There is nothing that has been worth doing that was not dreamed of first of all" and no one has ever suggested that a majority had the same dream of progress at the same time. If Governments had been able always to ignore minorities, such evils as child labour, over-laden ships, phossy jaw, lead poisoning, and probably slavery itself would still have been with us, and we should still be waiting for most of the factory acts, women's suffrage, children's allowances and many other things normal to our daily lives.

Our history is littered with famous names and they are not all Kings or soldiers; there are many in the list who were leaders of minority movements, such as John Howard, Wilberforce, Shaftesbury, Plimsoll, Pankhurst and Eleanor Rathbone.

Life and death struggle

THE story of the abolition of the death penalty is a story of minorities working with conviction, gaining ground here, losing a little there, gaining more, falling again, surviving setbacks, but always finally moving forward—and always keeping on with what they knew to be right.

The idea that the death penalty should go was regarded as outlandish, remote, idealistic, when it first took shape through the work of Samuel Romilly in the early years of the last century.

But he and his followers kept on and they gained ground little by little through the years until, by 1866, the ending of public executions was recommended by a Royal Commission, five members of which were ready to recommend total abolition of capital punishment.

There was then a lull while other reforms in penal fields, in the poor law, in the factories, took their place, but in the present century the abolitionists came again, led by Roy

HIS LIFE'S WORK

CAPTAIN William Douglas Home, court-martialled and imprisoned after he had protested at the policy of unconditional surrender and refused to continue fighting in World War II, wrote of his prison experiences and meeting with Frank Dawtry in his book "Half Term Report":

"... there came the day when I went round saying 'Good-bye' to all my friends... to the Deputy-Governor; to Frank Dawtry, the Prisoners' Aid Society officer, a self-effacing, saintly man who has devoted his life to the welfare of the ex-prisoner and to the abolition of the death penalty..."

A member of the War Resisters' International Council and of the Peace Pledge Union National Council, 52-year-old Frank Dawtry is also a member of the Executive of the Howard League for Penal Reform.

Calvert who made a special study of the subject of capital punishment and founded the organisation pledged to its abolition.

By 1931 a Select Committee had recommended the suspension of the use of the death penalty for an experimental period.

The Government took no action. The movement had to wait.

A few years later the House of Commons carried a motion in favour of abolition.

The Government ignored it.

Then came the violence of war which submerged the violence of the gallows; but in the reaction which followed the abolitionists gained ground and in 1948 the House of Commons voted the first legislation for the suspension of the death penalty for murder.

Again the advocates were thrown back, this time by the House of Lords.

The outcome of that struggle, however, was a Royal Commission, limited to discussing modification and limitation of the use of capital punishment; but it heard the views and evidence of abolitionists, and its Chairman, amongst others, was convinced.

The Report of the Commission was virtually rejected. But now Parliament has spoken again. The victory is not yet complete but it is within sight and, even if delayed, is now inevitable.

Power of a minority

THE same thing can happen with the abolition of conscription, of armaments and of war itself.

A few dedicated individuals in all ages have renounced violence and war and they have usually been persecuted for their views. In World War I they were more than a few. They opposed the introduction of conscription and when they lost that battle they refused to be conscripted. Their action seemed of little account but they had created a pacifist movement. In the days of peace they came to discover, moreover, that they had not been alone, and war resisters of many lands met to form the War Resisters' International.

The doldrums of peace provided little challenge, but the ideal never faded and a new threat of war led to the revival of the acceptance of personal responsibility for refusing to fight or to arm. And so the Peace Pledge Union came into being. In the dark days of another war the pacifists maintained their witness, and they still do so.

Their numbers need be no measure of their influence and the pacifist need never feel that his work is useless or his minority position hopeless.

The abolitionist minority kept on—and won. The pacifist minority can do the same.

Some will speak, others will write; some will demonstrate and others will maintain the truth quietly in the manner of their daily lives. They will all know that they work for a common end; they may be assured that they are not alone; and unless all creation is a bad joke they may be certain that their purpose is right and must one day succeed.

Where violence would have failed, a minority freed India from imperialism. Where ideas of violence and defence still prevail, a minority can still free the world from war.



Prof. Johannes Ude

Austrian pacifist is 82

GREETINGS from all over the world will pour into the Austrian home of the world's outstanding Catholic pacifist, Prof. Johannes Ude tomorrow. He will be celebrating his eighty-second birthday.

Last year this outspoken and fearless leader of the Austrian War Resisters wrote to Dr. Adenauer and told him that the future of the German people depended upon how the Chancellor decided to implement the Commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

Prof. Ude believes that "Unarmed neutrality is the only solution for all peoples and nations, because the Fifth Commandment applies without exception."

Of the Four Great Powers he wrote recently:

"They consider themselves the only people entitled to negotiate world peace and to do as they please."

"In their presumptuousness they act as if they were the overlords of the world, entitled to decide the fate of all other peoples and nations, to rule over life and death and over all property."

"It is true that one talks of 'non-intervention in the affairs of other nations,' but a dreadful, criminal system of espionage on both sides sees to it that the populations and nations of the earth can never be at peace, that the economy is impaired, internal peace upset and ever new wars begun."

"Human rights are trampled underfoot. Shamelessly, capitalist and Communist states resort to such means as lying, stealing, cheating, robbing, slander, killing and destruction in order to pursue their aims at the expense of the other party."

February 24th, 1956

Editorial and Publishing office.
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**PEACE
NEWS**

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RUSSIA REJECTS STALINISM

PEACE NEWS has repeatedly urged that there has developed a profound change in the Governmental outlook in Russia since Stalin's death.

Certain of the proceedings of the 20th Communist Party Congress, particularly the addresses of Mr. Khrushchov and Mr. Mikoyan, decisively confirm this.

We believe that in noting the significance of those developments, two very different morals are to be drawn. These pertain to the attitudes of two classes of fellow-travellers: those who fellow-travel with US policy and with Russian policy.

Mr. Mikoyan explicitly condemned Stalin's falsification of history, the international policies of the Stalinist Government, and—to us of greatest significance—the diabolical purges of the 'thirties.

His speech made it clear that the present "men of the Kremlin" are very different from those in power before Stalin's death.



EXCEPT for the very brief interlude of the "summit" Geneva meeting, the Governments of the West have continued to deal with the present Russian Government as if it were precisely the same as the Stalin Government, thus punishing it for the very policies they have set themselves to reverse.

The poisonous splutterings in the United Nations of Stalin's servile tool Vyshinsky are gone. There has been a change in the tone of Russian diplomatic communications.

But the attitude of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. in the UN remains apparently the same. And the tone and temper of Mr. Dulles pronouncements on Russia are just the same.

We believe that British spokesmen should sharply separate themselves from the fear of improved international relationships shown by Mr. Dulles and the anti-social interests for whom he speaks.

A new British foreign policy should try to help achieve the changes for which the present Russian leaders strive rather than continue policies likely to re-establish a militaristic dictatorship in Russia.



HOWEVER, for those who have accepted a "fellow-traveller" status regarding Russia, we believe a very different moral is to be drawn.

Mr. Mikoyan's speech underlines as true many criticisms of Russia made by Peace News and others. When we have offered these criticisms, we have had to meet not only the inevitable and automatic condemnation of British Communists, but also of their fellow-travellers—including some pacifists.

These people have developed a readiness to follow uncritically the Communist lead in determining their own attitude.

For these, we hold that the moral of the recent events in Moscow is that, whether or not they continue to work organisationally with Communists, they should realise the immorality of suppressing criticisms that they know—on the basis of their own moral values—should be made.

We should like, of course, to urge this kind of criticism upon the Communists themselves if we were not well aware that it would be futile.

It is particularly significant that while the Daily Worker reported a little of Mr. Mikoyan's speech, headed "We too made foreign policy mistakes," and included his reference to the attitude of the Stalin Government to Yugoslavia (slavishly endorsed, by the way, by the British Communist Party and the Daily Worker), it carefully omitted any reference to the clear condemnation of the purges of the 'thirties in Mikoyan's mention of "the alleged treacherous activity of individual Party leaders of that time, who were unjustly declared enemies of the people many years after the events described."



IN their acceptance of these condemnations of the old Communists (many of them their own personal comrades) the Communist leaders throughout the world almost reached the basest depths of political degradation.

Not quite the basest: that came after Stalin's death when the revelations made in the cancellation of the "confessions" of the condemned doctors threw such a lurid light on what had gone before. These leaders lacked sufficient decency to even belatedly and partially atone for their earlier cowardice by demanding at that time a public recognition of the real character of their old comrades.

They could, of course, say a word on the subject now, but we have little hope that they will.

The moral for "fellow-travellers" is that this case is an indication of the depth into which you may fall if you accept a party line as a substitute for your own mind and conscience.

Signs of hope in the Southern States

LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

THERE can be little doubt that Miss Lucy is the big news over here this week. I find myself optimistic and pretty happy over the situation.

I would be flattered myself if I thought readers of this column remembered the fluctuations in my feelings about the race situation in the US over the past couple of years.

To refresh your memory, therefore, I was hopeful a year last fall when integration took place in the public schools of such cities as Baltimore and the national capital itself, and efforts of such outfits as the National Association for the Protection of White People flopped.

I stated that I believed it would not be possible to put up large scale and effective resistance with emotional popular backing against integration in the public schools and presently in other fields, for any length of time anywhere in the country.

REACTION IN RETREAT

But a few months ago when the Emmet Till murder (and the failure to convict kidnappers who admitted kidnapping) occurred, and the moves to prevent or indefinitely delay integration in the public schools in many Southern states took place, I began to think we, or specifically the South, might be in for a very rough time.

Now, my inner barometer registers "clearing" in spite of the fact that in a number of places the sky is black and the wind high.

This is not to suggest, changing the metaphor, that the war is over and

that there may not be some tragic episodes ahead; but rather that a realistic analysis of the forces that can be brought to bear on the situation leads to the confident conclusion that the outcome of the conflict can only be a decisive advance of Negroes away from segregation and other forms of second-class citizenship to equality of status.

To state in very summary fashion the reasons for this conclusion, one factor is that the South in our period cannot break away in the economic field from the prevailing pattern of industrialisation and centralisation.

It will, therefore, not be able to set up on a stable basis a radically different type of culture than the national one. This has and may develop its own types of classification between managers and workers, an elite and masses etc. but it cannot indefinitely be the pattern of colour segregation.

Secondly, the movement of Negroes in the South is in one respect a part of the general revolt of the world's majority against the theory and practice of white superiority. It is hard to see how any attempt to prevent the success of this revolt can prevail indefinitely in this country.

That segregation is still here and its abolition is still being vigorously opposed has, of course, a well nigh

incalculable adverse effect on the American position in the world today.

Thirdly, the people of the South—the "opposition"—are thoroughly divided. Workers under the influence of the unions of the former Congress of Industrial Organisations in considerable numbers, though not all, have broken with segregation. This is also the case with a considerable percentage of urban church people, especially women, and women, of course, play a crucial role precisely in this matter of race.

LAW DEFIED IN ALABAMA

In Montgomery, Alabama on Feb. 11 more than 200 whites and Negroes met openly on a non-segregated basis to discuss ways of "resolving community conflicts." It is true the meeting had to be held in a Negro college and also that a couple of nights before 10,000 or more gathered in the municipal auditorium to hear and cheer Senator Eastland and other racists.

Nevertheless, among the 200 who broke the law by holding a non-segregated assembly were the floor leader of the Alabama State House of Representatives and other greatly respected and influential intellectual and religious leaders.

Another highly significant phenomenon is that the overwhelming majority of the students at Alabama University, though not taking a firm position for equality, did unequivocally condemn the violence that broke out.

● ON BACK PAGE



THE last five years has been a period of continuous financial crisis.

Each crisis arises from a shortage of sterling in the foreign exchanges, due to the failure of exports to keep pace with imports. When this lack of exports becomes too glaring, foreigners lose confidence in sterling and give it the cold shoulder, after which its value suddenly falls.

That is what happened last week, and the Government was compelled to act swiftly. It put up the bank rate 1%.

The effect will be to check capital expenditure such as factory and general building, even house and school building. A rise of 1% in the bank rate will raise the rent of a new council house by 6s. per week. That fact indicates what will happen. This curtailment of development will result in a fall of imports of raw materials.

The fetish dethroned

CLEARLY, therefore, the crisis is economic rather than financial. Raising the bank rate was followed by raising the price of bread and milk by reducing Government subsidies. This step will transfer £38m. from the pockets of the people to the coffers of the Government.

Again, serious curtailment of hire-purchase buying will reduce consumption and thus the demand for raw materials, while manufacturers (of cars, e.g.) will be compelled to sell competitively in foreign markets and thus to send up exports.

What all this means is that the fetish of "an expanding economy" is being dethroned, and that our extravagances have to be curtailed. In other words, it proves that the crisis is at root spiritual, and concerns our values and way of life.

Two alternatives now confront this country: a growing interecine conflict between numerous social groups for "differentials," the widespread use of power pressures to secure maximum income rates, and a change of emphasis in our demands due to a revolution in our values and thus in our culture.

No miracle in Malaya

UNGRACIOUS as it must seem to throw words of recrimination across the news of the coming independence of the Federation of Malaya, on occasions like this the pacifist is almost bound to do so.

If the independence now to be conferred had been granted when the demand for it was first expressed in plain terms by the Malaysians at the end of the war, the loss of innumerable

Economic crisis

Malaya

Gandhi

The military

able lives, thousands of acts of destruction and mountains of bitterness would have been avoided—to say nothing of warfare expenditure less than half of which could have raised the average Malayan living standard sufficiently to prevent thousands of its workers from seeing their only hope in Communism.

Many details remain to be settled, and in the meantime the struggle to eradicate Communism is to continue. Given the political and general mental atmosphere of the Far East, that can only be called a purblind decision.

Even if the transition regime and the coming independent Malayan Government were to prove miracle workers, neither of them is likely to succeed in this particular miracle.

New Angle on Gandhi

IN April 1946 when Louis Fischer said to Gandhi: "... the Indian Communists want Communism of the Stalin type in India and want to use your name for that purpose," Gandhi replied: "They won't succeed."

For years Gandhi was denounced by the Communists of India and elsewhere as a naive leader, a reactionary, and a "tool of the imperialists."

Now he has received official Communist blessings.

The Communist Party of India has for some time been using Gandhi's name in their efforts to rally the masses behind their party.

During the Khrushchov-Bulgarian visit to India, Mr. Khrushchov placed a wreath at Gandhi's cremation site. Without endorsing Gandhi's philosophy, he referred to him as "a great patriot and a friend of the people," and stated "we consider him an outstanding leader who contributed much to the development of your people's peaceful views in their struggle for independence."

Double opposition

NOW in a letter in New Times, Soviet English language weekly review, Mr. Evgeny Zhukov, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has written that a majority of Soviet orientalists and certain Soviet publications have given an "incorrect evaluation of Gandhi and his activities."

Mr. Zhukov describes Gandhi as the "outstanding figure of the Indian national movement."

And thus the line is changing.

All this is done without any public recognition of the fact that although Gandhi and the Communists share firm opposition to the status quo and believe in a common ultimate goal of a just society, their fundamental social philosophies and methods are at least as opposed as are Gandhi's to those of the West.

Lenin's doctrine

AT no point is there any recognition that if the Communist expressions of error in evaluating Gandhi are sincere, fundamental changes in Soviet policies and Communist philosophy are demanded. It is a comparable situation to that existing in the West where the name of Gandhi is glibly mouthed while his teachings are ignored.

In the words of Lenin:

"During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander."

"After their deaths, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

Still riding

WITH world attention fixed on the upsurge of nationalism in Asia and the Middle East, Western democracies have silently suffered a serious reverse.

NATO and SEATO military commands function very largely as units independent of Parliamentary control.

Time was when political speeches and public expressions on major policies by military men were strictly forbidden; when parliaments, jealous of their sovereignty, did not hesitate to call offenders to account and issue reprimands.

Today it is commonplace for bellicose brass-hats to declare how future wars shall be fought, to dictate the weapons to be used and to name the potential enemy.

Governments hide their impotence with the excuse that these free-lance war-mongers are not speaking as the countries' representatives, but as leaders of a supra-national authority.

The West is abandoning democracy to a military monster with power for destruction and with initiative never before surpassed. The Generals are in the saddle.

* V. I. Lenin. *The State and Revolution*, p.11, Moscow 1951, Foreign Languages Publishing House.

From the Editor's Notebook

THE YOUNG DOUKHOBORS in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan are publishing their own magazine ("The Inquirer," \$3 yearly, from 434 Avenue J South, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada).

In Britain we hear chiefly of the Doukhobors in British Columbia and the struggle by "The Sons of Freedom" who have had 82 of their children seized and placed in the New Denver Welfare Home because the parents would not send the children to government-sponsored schools which "teach war."

Renewed relevance

SPEAKING about the future of "The Inquirer," at a Doukhobor music festival in Canora recently, the Editor, K. J. Tarasoff, told the audience of 400:

"I feel that the Doukhobor concept has renewed meaning today..."

"Non-violence and brotherhood certainly have their place in our day and age. Just as war begins in the hearts and minds of men, so can peace begin in the hearts and minds of men."

The January issue of "The Inquirer" reprints the panel from Peace News, November 18, "Am I a Conscientious Objector?" which we had abridged from the Gospel Messenger.

Although many of their publications are in Russian, "The Inquirer" is in English.

Parson's progress

JUST how much one peace-minded parson can do in a small village is to be seen at Stannington, near Sheffield, where Tom Wardle, former Peace News staff man, is lay minister at Underbank Unitarian Chapel.

A special Sunday service to commemorate Gandhi's death was held

this month, a party of Indians coming out from Sheffield for the occasion.

Leaflets are being distributed announcing a series of special services on the theme "Religion in the Modern World." Subjects include "The New Asia and Ourselves," "Christianity and Colonialism," "Religion and Politics, do they go together?"

"We shall try to show that the Church does not run away from the great issues which confront the citizens of our troubled planet," writes Tom Wardle in his "Underbank Messenger."

Salutary sermons

DR. HOMER JACK, who covered the Bandung Conference for Peace News and also the Goa shooting incident, has begun a new volume based on his experiences in India last year.

It is to be called "Gandhism in India Today."

Minister at the Unitarian Church at Evanston, Chicago, he is noted for his forthright sermons on current affairs. Among the titles of some of the he has published in pamphlet form are:

"Why they dislike us in Asia," "Is McCarthy a Concealed Communist?" "Who Ought to Investigate Whom?" and (strangely enough) it was the title of a Peace News Union leaflet) "The H-bomb and You."

His pamphlet, "Bandung: the spot Description of the Asian African Conference," is still in demand. A reprint will soon be available in Britain from Peace News office (2s., postage 3d.). US readers 30 cents from "Toward Freedom" Room 503, 343 S. Dearborn Chicago 4, Ill.

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'Justice for Arabs'—demand Israelis

From a Correspondent

A plea for justice for Palestine Arabs has been sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, by the Israeli Third Force group in Tel Aviv.

"We beg to express to you," say the Group, "our deep sorrow at the failure of the United Nations to fulfil its duty and do justice to the Arabs in Palestine."

"We demand (a) that the Arab refugees be allowed to return to their homes in Israel, and that adequate compensation be paid to those of them who will refuse to return, (b) that the military oppression of, and all discrimination against the Arabs be abolished forthwith, and (c) that all Arab property in Israel be returned to its owners."

The letter was signed by M. Stein, Chairman and A. Zichroni, Secretary.

The Third Force was founded in Tel Aviv in 1951. It aims to reconcile Jew and Arab so that each can cease to be pawns of the East-West struggle for power, and so that the Middle East may prosper.

Associated with the Third Force is IHUD, a group of intellectuals devoted to the solution of the Jewish-Arab problem, and the BUND, a branch of the Social Democratic Labour Organisation.

The Israeli press and official circles snub these organisations for their lack of Zionist fervour, and for their fraternal attitude toward the Arab inhabitants of Israel and the Arab refugees over the border.

The Secretary of the Third Force, 25-year-old Amnon Zichroni, hit the world's headlines in the summer of 1954 by fasting for 23 days rather than submit to military service.

"I expect to be attacked for saying this . . ."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PIERRE POUJADE

By ROY SHERWOOD

UNTIL the recent day when the world learned to its surprise that the Poujadistes had won 52 seats in the elections for the French National Assembly, even people in France spoke of Pierre Poujade as too personally insignificant to be taken seriously.

That they have now changed their minds is shown by the fact that the National Assembly itself is taking Poujadisme seriously enough to be debating whether the election of several of its representatives can be invalidated on grounds of their improper use of the "apparentement" provisions of the electoral law. In one case this has already been done, others are pending as this is written.

Outside France people are also waking up to some unpleasant resemblances between the Poujade of 1956 and the Hitler of the early nineteen-twenties.

There is the same social background of small middle-class life, the same kind of rough, not to say uncouth speech with a provincial accent, the same absence (for the moment) of any attempt to appeal to anyone not belonging to their section of the community, the same fury, the same ignorance of world affairs, the same self-centeredness and the same imperviousness to ridicule.

Poujade and Hitler

Transcending personal characteristics, there are two major points of resemblance:

(a) Poujade stands, as Hitler did in his earliest days, for the removal of legitimate grievances harboured by a large and hard-working section of the community, which is also the main beast of burden in many other countries;

(b) Poujade's anti-parliamentarianism has been helped along, as Hitler's was in its day, by the poor performance of a democratically elected Parliament.

On the related point of technique, we also find in both cases (as well as in Mussolini's) a private sort of army and public marches all ready to descend to the level of riots, in what appears a deliberate attempt to frighten people.

But even if we were to assume against all sense and reason that France might allow Poujade to grow into a Mussolini or a Hitler, it is not conceivable that she would imitate their aggressive expansionism, though she would certainly grow shockingly reactionary in North Africa; nor that she could come near enough to military superiority to become a direct danger to world peace.

But no one can doubt that the ultimate aim of Poujadisme is one-party government, and it is in this respect that Pierre Poujade is a flamboyant signpost of the tendency of the times.

In Italy, the question of the day is what the repercussions of Poujade's success in France will be on Italy's internal politics.

Italian counterpart

With elections due in April, people are wondering about the prospects of the *L'Uomo Qualunque* movement. Literal translation of the title being impossible, let us say that it means "Any Kind of Man" or the man-in-the-street. With its beginning dating back to the first days after the war, and its widest popularity to 1946, it is a long time since it has held a prominent position.

Like Poujadisme, it is not a working-class movement; unlike it, it is not centrally



"An unpleasant resemblance"

directed and not, in the main, organised by people from the shopkeeper class but by professional men. Its originator was a University professor, and the main reason for its decline in recent years, the constant growth of unemployment, lies in that.

With two millions totally unemployed and another two million men on short-time, the groans of middle-class Qualunquists about the Government's tax exactions and its inefficiency became something too selfish in the presence of so many workers' far worse misery.

But now, with the approach of elections, the fundamental link between Qualunquists and

● ON BACK PAGE

THE NEW KLU KLUX KLAN

By GENE SHARP

THE Miss Lucy case takes place against the background of the upsurge of a Southern US movement to maintain white supremacy.

Following the 1954 US Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, a new movement to perpetuate white supremacy spread throughout the South. It has been openly led by prominent citizens.

Senator James O. Eastland made a speech calling for a new crusade to preserve the Southern way of life and to prevent the "mongrelisation of the Anglo-Saxon race." Following that speech the first White Citizens Council was organised in Sunflower County, Mississippi, where the Senator lives on his large cotton plantation.

The White Citizens Councils are described as a new Klu Klux Klan; they describe themselves as an organisation of "White Males Dedicated to Preservation of Segregation."

The White Citizens Councils are described as "the dominant political and economic force in Mississippi" today by Mr. H. L. Mitchell, the President of the National Agricultural Workers Union.

The Councils have spread to Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana and South Carolina. In Florida and Georgia it is called "States Rights Councils," in North Carolina, "Patriots of North Carolina, Inc.," in Tennessee, "Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation" and similar titles.

AIMS AND METHODS

In Virginia the movement is known as "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty."

The White Citizens Councils avowedly aim at preventing or at least delaying the enforcing of the US Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in schools and elsewhere. It is also charged that the Councils are a general anti-labour movement of reaction.

The White Citizens Councils use the economic boycott as their chief public method of intimidation. There have been numerous

LINKED TOGETHER



FORTY THOUSAND people, it is estimated, will be reading this issue of Peace News.

Within the compass of these six pages we try to cater for all their needs.

Oluembe Bassir writes from Ibadan, in Nigeria, that recent issues have been of great interest to him "because of the forthright exposure of the betrayal of the Africans in Central Africa."

An Indian reader expresses his thanks for our Gandhi commemoration number.

A Dutch conscientious objector writes from a prison to express his thanks for the solidarity shown to the men in prison at Christmas.

A British reader who had a letter published in our columns receives a word of thanks from a US reader.

And so peace-workers all over the world are linked together; more important, the editorial staff gain a picture of some of the 40,000 readers—and get scared stiff at the thought of catering for you all each week in six pages.

Sorry, somebody, if just what you want is not here this week. Your turn next week.

Do write and let us know what you want in Peace News, readers everywhere—and when you write please enclose, if you possibly can, a contribution towards the Forward Fund, which needs a steady flow of contributions if Peace News is to continue publication.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Feb. 10: £25 8s. 4d.

Total since Jan. 1, 1956: £73 12s. 8d.

Ten shillings is gratefully acknowledged from "Anon." Driffield.

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threats of violence and several killings of Negroes, but it has not been possible to prove that Councils have been responsible for them.

The White Citizens Councils have also attempted to infiltrate the relatively weak trade unions in the South and suppress civil liberties in churches and universities. Anti-segregation clergymen have been fired from their jobs and a few anti-segregation leaders have fled for their safety.

A Negro leader of the movement of Negroes to qualify as voters was shot to death on the Court House lawn in Brookhaven, Mississippi as he attempted to register as a voter. Over 50 eye-witnesses were summoned before a grand jury but all refused to testify against the killer.

As the White Citizens Councils have in many areas become the dominant political and economic power, the normal processes of justice have disappeared, and many white Southern liberals have been intimidated into silence.

COUNCILS DEFIED

A few individuals have stood up and denounced the Councils. Editor Hodding Carter of Greenville, Mississippi (the heart of white supremacy country), Grover Hall, Jr. Editor of the Montgomery Advertiser (Alabama), who blocked a move to organise a White Citizens Council in Montgomery, Alabama, the "Cradle of Confederacy," and Jonathan Daniels of the Raleigh (N. Carolina) News Observer, and C. A. McNight of the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer are among those who have helped slow the growth and influence of the White Citizens Councils.

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APRIL WORK CAMP IN WALES

YOUNG men and women from several countries are expected to join in a Welsh work camp in April, helping to build a Community Centre on Penlan Housing Estate, Swansea.

Work to be undertaken will be fencing, digging foundations, concreting.

Campers will be accommodated in a church hall some 15 minutes walk from the site.

Applications to join the camp should be made to The Friends Work Camps Committee (Quakers), Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1. Campers from overseas are not asked to contribute towards the cost of the camp itself, but are expected to pay their own fares and pocket money.

GENERAL FRANCO

General Franco has suspended for three months constitutional guarantees of freedom of residence and freedom from illegal arrest and imprisonment without trial in Spain.

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Gandhi, Jesus and Colonialism

By J. C. KUMARAPPA

Editor, Gram Udyog Patrika, Wardha, Madhya Pradesh, India

IN the "Peace News" of London, October 28, 1955, Mr. Peter De Morny writes that in spite of Gandhi's selflessness and lack of any personal ambition "he had not outgrown nationalistic ambition and used his Satyagraha or Truth-power for the express purpose of ridding his country of the foreign yoke."

This statement discloses a gross misunderstanding of Gandhi's approach. Satyagraha serves a double purpose. Gandhi's ambition was universal release from bondage. It was to release the oppressors as well as the victims. The oppressors were under the bondage of selfishness and greed.

RELEASING THE BRITISH

By bringing about a change of heart in them his ambition was to release the British from the wrong position into which material avarice had held them, as under a vice. Such a change in the British would give them a right attitude towards the rest of the human family and they on their own, would withdraw from a false position. This, we trust, is what has happened.

Had the British been driven out of India by violence with superior arms, the aftermath would have bred hatred and ill-feeling. But our experience is that there is mutual good will and friendliness between Indians and Britishers as a result of our gaining our independence through Satyagraha.

On the other hand, every nation should be able to make its special contribution to the family of universal brotherhood and fulfil its God-given mission.

It can only do so if it had freedom to hold its head erect and express itself in its own way. Colonialism is inimical to serve this purpose. To shake oneself free from such a crushing burden is one's duty to oneself. This cannot be construed into a narrow nationalism which is completely foreign to Gandhi's nature.

We trust Mr. De Morny will appreciate this dual function of Satyagraha and note its superiority over one-sided "victory" brought about by violence.

Again, we feel, Mr. De Morny's reference to Jesus and Caesar is based on a misconception of the oft-quoted cryptic statement, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." This text is usually used by States to justify their exactions and accepted as the final word by the prelates of the church.

DETHRONING CAESAR

With this tradition Mr. De Morny contends that Jesus was solely concerned with the inner purification of a person and not with displacing Caesar. This is completely off the track. To say that Jesus did not concern himself with dethroning Caesar and to conclude therefore that Gandhi's political activities were not in alignment with Jesus' teachings is wholly wrong. It is based on the misconception of the

basic statement because of a casual reading of it or by a wilful shutting off of one's higher understanding.

Let us look at the context. The pharisees and Scribes, who did not relish the work done by Jesus in awakening the Jewish people's conscience against the wrong teachings of these leaders, wanted to place Jesus in a dilemma by asking him a question. "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" If he answered it in the positive he would go against the susceptibilities of the Jews, if in the negative he would be liable to be prosecuted under the Roman Law as one who was stirring up sedition. So Jesus gives them a conundrum and defeats their purpose. Taken legalistically, the Romans can take no exception to that statement and the Jews can construe it to be a direction to pay the temple due in "God's money" the shekel. But the deeper implication that applies for all time is missed by Mr. De Morny and the Church protagonists. This is contained in the second part of the answer which was not part of the question asked.

'ALL IS GOD'S'

"Render unto God the things that are God's." What are the things that belong to Him who made all the world and all that in it? Naturally, the only possible reply is "everything." That means Caesar himself, being a creature of God, is on the same footing as an earthworm. Therefore he cannot be placed as a competitor to God in claiming a share in the loyalty due to our creator.

All being God's there is no residue left for Caesar who may even be construed to be an usurper except in so far as he helps with God's own dispensation. So Caesar gets nothing on his own rights. This brings Man into direct relationship with God his Maker.

EXTENDING THE PRINCIPLES

Besides, in comparing Gandhi with Jesus we have always to bear in mind that the earthly ministry of Jesus was barely over three mortal years. He hardly had time enough to lay down his first principles. Even his close disciples were able to grasp his teachings only dimly as through a glass. He left them promising the Comforter who will lead them into all the Truth.

But Gandhi's work extended over 45 years. In this time he had the opportunity of, not only enunciating his principles, but also of applying them to the various walks of life. We are still groping in our efforts to apply the principles. So it is justifying Jesus to limit him strictly to the fields of his own work.

We will do the correct thing by extending his principles beyond the spheres in which he himself operated and, imbued in his spirit, exploring other fields.

Anything less will dishonour him or place his teachings beyond human reach as impracticable.

Letters to the Editor

Finland and self-determination

IN your issue of January 27 you write: "If Michael Godfrey knows of any areas that were brought under Tsarist imperial domination that have since 1917 been accorded the right of self-determination, let him tell us which they are."

May I remind you of Finland? It fell under Tsarist domination in consequence of the Napoleonic wars and remained under the Tsars till 1917, when independence was recovered after a very bloody civil war in which many thousands of Communists were executed.

In Finland's Constitution the Communist Party was outlawed.

After the first war with the Soviet Union in 1939 she was given a rather reasonable peace treaty. In Russia's darkest hour, when Hitler invaded, Finland tore up the peace treaty and attacked by the side of Hitler.

She was beaten once more and everybody expected the country would be swallowed by Russia. But she got the same peace treaty once more and thus remained one of the few European countries that were never occupied. Since then she has obtained, by means of negotiations, several improvements from the peace treaty with Russia.

Just as Finland was the only European country after World War I to pay her debt to the United States, she also paid her reparations to Russia after World War II to the last penny. This seems to have been wise indeed. While Adenauer tried to negotiate with Russia "out of strength," meaning military bullying, Finland also negotiated out of strength, meaning moral strength, owing to her correct attitude. One can learn a lot from that country.

When I once happened to meet a Finn, I asked him whether there was much fear in his country of the powerful neighbour, the Soviet Union. "In Finland?" he retorted. "I have never noticed it. If you want to find fear of Russia, you should go to the United States."

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI.

Hohenzollerstrasse 27a.

Berlin-Wannsee, Germany.

Dr. Willard Uphaus

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS is the executive secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths, which runs a Centre in New Hampshire for social and religious conferences and vacation.

He is an elderly man, a pacifist, and deeply respected by those who knew him during his many years as leading spirit of the Religion and Labour Foundation in New Haven, Conn.

He has been hounded by New Hampshire's political witch-hunt since September of 1954, and charged with "contempt" for refusing to disclose names of the Centre's guests and employees, and copies of correspondence with lecturers.

On January 5, State Attorney General Wyman, all of whose questions as to faith, social convictions and past activities Uphaus had freely answered, wound up the trial with a barrage of cynical comments and insinuations implying Uphaus was guilty of Communism. (He had testified under oath that he was not and never had been a Communist, and that as far as he knew no guest at the Centre

ever showed any intent to overthrow any government.)

Uphaus was sentenced to prison "until purged of contempt." Wyman pleaded with the judge to deny bail but bail of \$1,500 was granted.

Uphaus writes from his home, 66 Edgewood Ave., New Haven 11, Conn.: "It is well known that I am a Christian pacifist and that the thought of violence is repugnant to me. As far as I know it is almost unprecedented that a judge give a person an indeterminate sentence who has not been charged with a crime and who has acted in accord with his Christian conscience.

"Communists are given sentences of specific duration. In effect this is a sentence for life, for I will not let the witch-hunters destroy my soul."

His refusal to become an informer on innocent people was based upon the Bible teaching against bearing false witness, the Methodist social creed condemning "guilt by association," the First Amendment rights of citizens including free exercise of religion and peaceable assembly, Eisenhower's call to Americans to defend their liberties, and the Protestant doctrine of Christians reaching their own inner convictions after prayer and consultation.

Dr. Uphaus, rightly I am sure, sees "our democracy, our prophetic religion and everything we hold dear" as involved in his fight. Now, without funds of his own, he faces the costs of the appeal.

Christians in this country could give real help by writing to Gov. Lane Dwinell or Atty. Gen. Wyman at Concord, N.H. or both.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE,

Former-editor,

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN,

12 Talbot Square,

London, W.2.

There is a difference of opinion among sincere pacifists and others in the US as to whether Dr. Uphaus has in fact co-operated with and promoted organisations described as "Communist fronts."

Civil liberties, however, Peace News maintains, must be guaranteed for all persons regardless of political opinions.—Ed.

The standing orders

MAY I refer to a passage in the article by Emrys Hughes in your issue of Feb. 10?

"A few months later we were re-admitted to the Parliamentary Labour Party.... We again agreed to accept the Standing Order (by which I understand Mr. Hughes to mean 'promised to obey the Standing Orders' B.W.C.).... If any similar issue like German rearmament comes along again, as it well may do, then people like me prefer to follow conscience and not the Standing Orders or anything else."

A man who promises to follow a certain course of conduct and at the same time intends to act otherwise in circumstances which are

★ ON BACK PAGE

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

Friday, February 24

WYTHENSHAW: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Wythenshawe Rd. "The Birth of a World People in 1956," Dr. Hugh Schonfeld. PPU.

Saturday, February 25

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Mount St. Area AGM. Important business. All PPU members invited. PPU.

Sunday, February 26

DERBY: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. St. Helen's St. "Kenya Today—an eye witness account" (with colour slides and tape-recordings). Eric D. Cleaver. SoP.

Tuesday, February 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: (coffee at 7.00) Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Annual Gnl. Mtg. Nominations for officers to be held. Sidney Bilson, 33 Compton Rd., N.1. London Area PPU.

Wednesday, February 29

COLCHESTER: 7 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Chapel Rd. "The Quaker Mission to China." Gerald Bailey, M.A. Colchester Friends Peace Com. and For.

Thursday, March 1

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., South Rd. "What road to peace?" Gene Sharp (Peace News). PPU.

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. "Christian Peace-making in the East." Dr. Hildegard Mayr (of Vienna). For.

MANCHESTER: 7.15 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Quaker Lane. "Politics and Peace." Tom Wardle. Mansfield Peace Gp.

Friday, March 2

BULL: 8 p.m.: 6 Bond Street, "The Labour Party and Pacifism." Discussion led by Mrs. Clarke. Admission free. Questions. All welcome. PPU.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.: Central Hall, "Capital Punishment." Public Meeting. Lord Gardner, Q.C., Leslie Hale, M.P., Rt. Hon. Graham White, and a specialist in forensic psychiatry. NCACP.

Saturday, March 3

LONDON, W.1: to **WORMWOOD GREEN:** 3 p.m.: Oxford Street, March to Wormwood Green. All COs and sympathisers welcome. Four-hour shifts outside the terminus. Sunday, March 11, in a march from the prison to Speaker's Corner, Hyde Park, where at 2 p.m. a public meeting will be held. Details, Ian Dixon, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.1. PYAG.

Saturday, March 3

LEEDS: 3 p.m.: Swarthmore Educational Settlement, Woodhouse Sq., Annual Gnl. Mtg. Yorkshire PPU.

Tuesday, March 13

WOODFORD GREEN (Essex): 8 p.m.: Sir James Hawkey Hall, Public Mtg. "Scientists, The H-bomb and You!" Canon T. B. Scrutton, D. Stark Murray, B.Sc., M.B., Ch.B., John Maynard Smith, A.M., B.Sc. For.

Wednesday, March 14

BELFAST: 8 p.m.: Friends Inst. Frederick St. "Pick and Shovel Peace-maker—Pierre Ceresole." Rev. Dr. H. J. McLachlan. For.

Thursday, March 15

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. "The Colonies: our problem," John Rex, Sec. West Riding Council for African Affairs. Leeds Joint Action for Peace.

Saturday, March 17

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "Some problems of the pacifist teacher," Marjorie Mitchell, M.Sc. All welcome. Notify if possible. Jane Burgess, 9 West St., Hertford, Herts. Education Commission, PPU.

Wednesday, March 21

LONDON, S.W.1: 6.30 p.m.: Caxton Hall, Westminster. AGM No. Conscriptio Council. Business meeting (for members) followed at 8 p.m. by Brains Trust (for public) with distinguished panel. Further parties. No Conscriptio Council, Crestfield St., W.C.1.

Thursday, March 24

EPSOM: 4.30 p.m.: Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd. Refreshments and Peace Bookstall. 7 p.m. "Children of Hiroshima." Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashford, Surrey (Ashford 4016) Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtgs. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Rush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Colonies and the Death Penalty

of life in hot blood. The second type of colony has internal self-government—the Gold Coast, Nigeria and some of the West Indies are examples. I hope in these cases the Colonial Secretary will draw the attention of the Government to the decision of the House of Commons and urge that, as a matter of race equality, it should be adopted in their territories. The third type of colony covers those for

whom the British Parliament has full responsibility.

I hope that there will be no hesitation in applying the decision of the British Parliament to these colonies.

If we fail to do so, we shall be under the charge of adopting one standard for white citizens in Britain and another for coloured citizens in territories administered by Britain.

I hope that all readers of Peace News will write to the Colonial Secretary and ask organisations to which they belong to send him resolutions urging that the death penalty should be ended in colonial territories as well as in Britain.

SUPPORT FOR MARCH GROWS

❑ FROM PAGE ONE

from work to organise the picket rota. Artists who have offered to help with drawing posters.

Ian Dixon, secretary of the Group told Peace News last week that the support of readers would be welcome in the following ways:

1. Joining in the procession on Mar. 3, either from Oxford Street (Binney St.) at 3 p.m., or the shorter distance from the White City end of Macfarlane Road, Wood Lane at 4.15 p.m.
2. Joining in one or more of the four-hour shifts (12-4; 4-8; 8-12) from March 3 to Sunday, March 11.
3. Joining in a march from the Prison on Sunday, March 11 at 2 p.m. to Speaker's

RALLY AT IPSWICH

IPSWICH'S Catholic-Labour MP and Shadow-Cabinet member, "Dick" Stokes, will speak at a Trades Council organised meeting tonight (Friday) against the colour bar in the town.

Speaking with him at the Diocesan Hall, will be Joseph Murumbi, former secretary of the Kenya African Union and now assistant general secretary of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

A fortnight ago the Ipswich Trades Council passed a resolution calling for a protest meeting of "all organisations interested in the preservation of racial freedom" after hearing how two West Indians who accompanied Mrs. Lesley Lewis, a former Labour mayor, to the Rendezvous Restaurant, were asked to leave.

Leading church personalities in the town will attend tonight's meeting including the Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich (Dr. A. H. Morris), the Rev. George Bird and the Rev. A. Phillip Hewett.

On Sunday Mr. Hewett asked his Unitarian congregation to boycott the restaurant. Members of the congregation stood up during his sermon to signify their support of his suggestion.

10,000,000 OPPORTUNITIES

PEACE PLEDGE UNION General Secretary Stuart Morris's broadcast on March 8 on pacifism will reach some ten million North of England listeners. The next day's Peace News will carry a front page article by Stuart Morris linking up with the broadcast.

Radio discussions are popular. Thousands of people are practically ignorant of pacifism, the sheer logic of our position, presented by an able and experienced speaker will stimulate a lot of interest.

- Tell your friends about it; give them our March 9 follow-up issue. Order a dozen copies for day-following-the-broadcast-sale at your railway station, market place or 'bus terminus.
- Provide your newsagent with copies to display, offering to take back unsold copies; pin Peace News up on notice boards. Order posters or display cards from us now.
- There will be many ways of following up this opportunity.
- If you belong to a pacifist group, plan a local campaign now.
- Copies of Peace News for free distribution at 2s. 9d. a dozen; on sale or return for street-selling, etc., at 3s. 5d. a dozen. Fill in this coupon and order your extra copies now.

From
Address

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MUSTE

★ FROM PAGE TWO

The most popular student at the university led his fellow-students in effectual non-violent resistance to some members of the mob at the time when President Carmichael, a nationally known figure and once regarded as a "true liberal" and his trustees yielded to mob pressure and suspended Miss Lucy.

While I am speaking of students it is interesting to note that at the University of Texas the student editor of the college daily is being subjected to pressure to stop writing editorials attacking the Harris-Fulbright bill recently passed by the US Senate which exempts natural gas interests from price regulation.

COURAGEOUS STUDENTS

The University administers a quarter of a billion (not million) dollar fund established largely by gas and oil interests!

The Regents instructed the University President to "take fast and positive action" to change the editorial policy; but the President is moving cautiously because the Student Assembly voted 25 to 1 to sustain the editor.

I mention this, along with the evidence that on the race issue Southern students are taking a somewhat more courageous stand than their elders, because I wonder whether it may portend that the long period of apathy toward social issues on the part of U.S. students is over. If so, it would be tremendously significant.

Turning back to the race issue, because the Southern people are themselves divided, the racists (although sporadic cases of violence are perpetrated) are not likely to feel able to resort to violence on a large scale. How can they if there is not pretty substantial community support? And how far, over the years, can a cause get which has all the other factors against it, if it cannot take the sword either? This brings me to my last and by far the most important reason why I feel as I do about the prospects for the movement of Negroes toward equality and first class citizenship.

HEARTS OF BRAVERY

This is that the Negroes themselves are now aware of their own dignity, are determined to take what is their right, and are bound together in solidarity.

The boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery for over two months—according to one of our columnists, "the most thorough and the most sustained exhibition of passive resistance in American history"—is an illustration of what can now happen.

Those who know India and Gandhi always insist that his greatest achievement was to get his people really to want independence, to feel that they could get it, and to "change the heart of his people from cowardice into bravery."

This is where U.S. Negroes are today. They are well advised not to compromise now on the demand for independence and full citizenship. After all, this is not something on which you "can strike a bargain equally advantageous to both sides."

On the other hand, standing where they now on the demand for independence and full non-violently, as could the Indian people.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POUJADE

● FROM PAGE THREE

workers begins to tell: their common discontent with the Government, their fury at recent disclosures of how the rich escape anything approaching adequate taxation, their impatience with the kind of democracy which has succeeded Mussolini's regime.

All this boils down to the simple question whether the two—both of them anti-parliamentarian and orientated towards one-party rule—will combine.

If they do, we shall see the arrival of something that will carefully deny any reversion to Fascism but will be clearly reminiscent of it.

American and British trends

American tendencies towards the suppression of free thought and expression of opinion have been written about so many times that it is not worth while to re-labour the subject.

But with the recent dismissal of American members of the staff of UNESCO, whose allegiance is known to belong to that international organisation (because they refused to answer questions about their political past), the US authorities placed themselves for the first time definitely on the wrong side of the law.

What about at home? On the level of government action we have just had the shock of the proposed jamming of Radio Athens on the claim that it incites to violence. But in the middle of our life-and-death struggle for national survival we were not afraid of Lord Haw-Haw, nor of his deliberately plebeian, cockney-speaking colleague who far surpassed him in crudeness. If we were still as confident as then, should we not expect the plain statement of our case by our own propaganda services sufficient to counteract Radio Athens?

We have not, thank heavens, arrived at the point where we have to discuss one-party

"As others see us . . ."

British action is certainly far from perfect, but are we and America always in the wrong and Russia right? Of course, I know you don't think so, but articles in Peace News are inclined to give that impression.

—Letter from a Reader, February 10, 1956.

Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us,

To see ourselves as others see us.

—ROBERT BURNS.

TRYING to see and understand both sides in a quarrel is never an easy exercise, particularly when the quarrel is an international one and is continually exacerbated by public pronouncements from both sides designed to put the other side in the wrong, and calculated to rouse patriotic feeling to a very high pitch.

If pacifism is to be a practical answer to the problems of today, and not just an unattainable ideal, obviously it must be related to current events.

The belief that negotiation is always a possible alternative to "cold" or "hot" war, where there is any will to succeed, is basic to the conception of pacifism as the solution of international conflict.

Fear of the Soviet brand of Communism, with its purges and its police state, its labour camps and Press control, is intense and very real. The result is that Western Statesmen have built up in their own minds, and passed on to their peoples, a fundamental belief in the possibility of "containing" Communism by military force.

They look with suspicion and disbelief at any proposal that comes from the Kremlin, and Russia is, apparently, equally sceptical of Western proposals. In fact it is easily apparent that there is no real will to find agreement, or to make any real national sacrifices in the cause of peace.

No one wants a war, least of all Russia, who can pursue her policy of infiltration without

IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE

THERE was prompt evidence that of all the many Press explanations offered for the sudden reappearance of Burgess and Maclean that of Peace News was the one that was "in perspective."

We remarked that the "natural and simple explanation" was probably the right one, and that the Russian leaders were likely to be anxious to clear up the point before their forthcoming visit to Britain.

We also said that it was possible that the fact that the Sunday Times correspondent in Moscow was due to leave for England was a deciding factor in the timing of the interview.

In the following issue of the Sunday Times Mr. Richard Hughes explained that he had presented to Molotov a memorandum urging this consideration, and that the interview was arranged only three hours before the time he had given as the latest he could conveniently be present.

LETTERS

★ FROM PAGE FIVE

within his contemplation and his expectation appears to me to be guilty of bad faith.

B. W. CAMPBELL,

Ewhurst,

16 Charnmouth Road, St. Albans.

EMRYS HUGHES COMMENTS:

I am much obliged to Mr. Campbell for his opinion. But this is a problem I have to solve myself, and I don't see where he comes in.

it, and who has suffered so severely from invasion and her own "scorched earth" policy, but nevertheless no one offers any sign that a real peace is part of their policy.

The present "detente" is not due to any reasoned negotiation, let alone reconciliation of conflicting ideas; it is a barrier to war which rests upon the frail and trembling support of fear, and to hold to it, as though it were solidly based on unassailable foundations, is a sign of the complete bankruptcy of statesmanship today.

In the conflicting world situation, as in any other dispute, it is seldom that one side is completely black and the other side purely white, and to give understanding to the opposing point of view is always liable to lead to the impression, if not the accusation, of sympathy for the enemy cause.

In the early 'thirties it was impossible to express any understanding of the German point of view about, for instance, the Versailles Treaty, without instantly being labelled "Fascist." Yet, some understanding of their real feelings, let alone their problems, might well have prevented the rise of Hitler to power, and so prevented the second world war.

It is never easy to hold a balance when examining both sides, and over-anxiety to be fair sometimes tips the balance into a position of bias. It is not, in fact, a question of Russia being right and Britain and America being wrong; it is basically a question of trying to see the Western Powers and their words and actions through Russian eyes. Only by that means will it ever be possible to approach them on common ground: at present all discussions appear to take place on different levels, so that seeing "eye to eye" is a sheer impossibility.

Had the position at the end of the war with Germany been reversed; had Russia been the possessor of the A-bomb and used it, without consultation, to end the war, there can be no doubt that her Western Allies would have been exceedingly afraid, especially if Russia had then refused to share the secret and declined to countenance any control of the development of the new discovery.

Looked at from this angle, Russian suspicions and fears are understandable. But this is not to whitewash them at the expense of blackening the West; it is to understand and by understanding to interpret the meaning of their sometimes incomprehensible behaviour. Of course, they should do the same, but it is scarcely a moral attitude to wait for someone else to put their house in order before tidying our own.

If the human race is to be freed from the menace of total destruction some one nation must have the courage to give a strong moral lead; Britain is well fitted, by its traditions, tolerance and its democratic freedom, to be that nation. The world is waiting; and the time is now.

"Why our friends are in gaol"

Send your name now to the Pacifist Youth Action Group, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1, if you can help in the

Wormwood Scrubs Demonstration

I can support you (cross out or fill in as applicable):

- (a) in the march to the prison on March 3.
- (b) by picketing on (date).....

(time).....

- (c) in the march from the prison on March 11 at 2 p.m.

Name

Address

Urgent!

ALL NORTH OF ENGLAND READERS AND GROUPS

● A special leaflet for widespread distribution, announcing Stuart Morris's March 8th broadcast on "Pacifism: The Unconditional Rejection of War," is being prepared on behalf of The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Friends Peace Committee, and the Peace Pledge Union.

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